

Social Progress

Presbyterians Look at the Platforms

by Gayraud S. Wilmore, Jr.

The Candle of the Lord

by Senator Clinton P. Anderson

Christian Responsibility in the 1956 Elections

A Statement from the NCC

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CONTENTS : October, 1956

From This Vantage Point..... 3

Articles

- Presbyterians Look at the Platforms,
by *Gayraud S. Wilmore, Jr.*..... 7
- The Candle of the Lord, by *Senator Clinton P. Anderson*.. 14
- Christian Responsibility in the 1956 Elections,
A Statement of the National Council of Churches..... 21

Worship

To Stay in the World..... 25

About Books 28

Code of Fair Campaign Practices.....back cover

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From This Vantage Point...

A Note to Ministers About What to Say on the Sunday Before Election

AT ELECTION time it is customary for ministers to remind members of their congregations of our common duty as citizens to register and to vote.

We dare to suggest that it would be proper for ministers to urge the members of their churches to stay at home and *not* to vote on Election Day—unless they have done their homework and are really ready to make responsible judgments concerning candidates and issues. We have said something like this two or three times before in these pages and we still believe it to be a good suggestion.

Here, for example, is a man in a voting booth. He is prepared to cast his ballot for one of several candidates for governor, and he marks his ballot accordingly. But the ballot is a long one, listing many candidates for a great variety of public offices, and our voter, though he knows nothing about the candidates and the issues involved in the races for the so-called “minor” political offices, puts down a lot of marks, thinking that he is thereby doing his full duty as a citizen. There is something immoral about that kind of indiscriminate and uninformed voting.

Churches can do much to encourage and to guide their members in the study of issues and candidates during an election campaign. For suggestions see the June, 1956, issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS.

Christians and Their Politics

Two rather disconcerting assumptions are reflected in the Statement of Purpose of a group of Christians who organized for political action in an Eastern city: (1) If men and women who profess Christian ideals and principles are elected to public office, better government will result; (2) there is a kind of "Christian politics" which is superior to Democratic politics or Republican politics, or any other kind of politics.

Questions immediately arise: Are these Christians committed to the defeat of every candidate who is not a church member or who adheres to the Jewish faith? What do they propose to do with the city government when they get control of it and introduce the programs and the policies of "Christian politics"? Or what will happen to the non-Christian segment of the population when the Christians take over? Is a Christian, even a genuine Christian, qualified *thereby* to be entrusted with the protection, the civil rights, the public policies, the economic security, the social welfare, the education of the entire people of the community, including the non-Christians who are thought to be unfit for public responsibility?

These questions are suggested by the objectives of a number of Christian citizens' groups springing up in many communities across the country in preparation for the fall election campaign. The questions are relevant and should be relentlessly pressed. They lay bare a historical and theological error in all crusades that would erect a "Christian society" as the will of God for the happiness and security of the human race.

Those of us who are convinced that Christians ought to be engaged corporately in seeking Christian solutions to social problems should constantly remind ourselves that neither the New Testament nor the Reformers teach that our Christian duty is to construct a Christian political order.

As William Lee Miller writes in the July-September, 1956, *Crossroads*, "Christian faith is about God. It is about God and what he has done for our salvation in Jesus Christ. . . . [The Christian faith] does not yield *any* direct and unequivocal answers to worldly political questions."

The Church's Influence in Politics

What about our quasi-lobbying activities in Washington and at the United Nations, our calls to corporate action by church members, our pronouncement-making in the Presbyterian General Assembly?

First of all, we should make doubly sure of our "objectives," avoiding the easy assumption of many "Christian citizens" groups that there is an

explicit Christian alternative to the policies of the Democratic and the Republican Parties.

Secondly, we ought to be clear that when it seeks to dominate or control, the corporate action of the Church goes against the grain of the Reformed faith's unique cultural role. A contemporary problem for Presbyterians, in ecumenical as well as in political action, is how to be influential without controlling. This requires painstaking calculations in the application of institutional power. It involves, in politics, a sense of the "legitimate secularity" of the world's business, the feasibility of enlarging rather than narrowing the base upon which political decisions are made, and a faith in the "majesty of truth" and its inevitable predominance over the affairs of men.

Thirdly, we ought to be clear that pronouncements express what Presbyterians see when they look at the world through the eyes of faith. They may represent a larger field of vision, a more critical aspect, a "transcendent perspective," but before the bar of truth they have no prior validity to the declarations of other groups—the League of Women Voters, the AFL-CIO Political Action Committee, or the Republican Party!

It is with these sobering considerations that we present in this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS a comparison of party platforms vis-à-vis the pronouncements of the 168th General Assembly; a statement from the National Council of Churches on "Christian Responsibility in the 1956 Elections"; and "A Code of Fair Campaign Practices," which has been endorsed by both major parties as a criterion for a campaign without back-alley tactics and mudslinging. Also noteworthy in this issue is an address by Senator Clinton P. Anderson, Chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, on Christian political responsibility in the age of atomic energy. Senator Anderson is a trustee in the First Presbyterian Church of Albuquerque, New Mexico.

These are some of the ingredients that mix well in the making of a Christian decision with respect to our role in the present world situation, and specifically in the November election.

A Comment on the Recent Steel Strike

Dr. Marshal L. Scott, dean of the Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations, has this to say about the steel strike which extended from July 1 to July 27 of this year:

"The steel companies, the union, and the Government all took a different attitude toward the strike than they have taken in previous strikes. There was no violence, no one got hurt, no equipment was damaged, there was little name-calling, there were no threats by union or company, the president did

not seize the industry or suggest the drafting of the workers into the Army. All parties acted in an orderly and responsible manner.

"The Government took a new role. Openly it was hands off, although Secretary of Labor Mitchell and Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey did become involved quietly and did much to bring the parties together.

"This emphasis on freedom and responsibility is healthy. But it is only possible when (a) the company genuinely accepts the union and puts the emphasis on a good contract rather than on weakening the union, (b) the union has outgrown the class-conflict idea and understands the relationship between improved working conditions and production, (c) the industry has reached a relatively high pay level, (d) there is a rough balance of power combined with a sincere desire to work together, and (e) the public is not indifferent, but puts the emphasis on free and responsible bargaining rather than on public coercion.

"The issue of the increase in steel prices following the strike is disturbing, partly because it is inflationary and partly because the public has been deceived.

"In the business world, it has been known for months that steel prices were to go up regardless of the labor contract. The steel companies have carried on an extensive campaign explaining that the present margin above cost is not sufficient to meet depreciation costs and provide out of profit sufficient capital for the planned expansion of fifteen million tons of new capacity in the next three years.

"The price increase was delayed to tie in with the wage increase. This timing, plus the careless or deliberate misleading of the public by much of the press, has placed popular blame for the resulting inflation on the union. This is inaccurate and unjust. Whether the wage increases exceed the increasing productivity of the workers is a technical question that only trained economists with access to company records can determine. When wage increases are tied in with plant expansion which is to be paid for out of earnings, then something has to give.

"My concern is that the record be straight and that churchmen be careful about passing judgment on either the companies or the union without first being careful about their information. It is possible to get the facts by writing to (1) The American Iron and Steel Institute, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, New York, and (2) The United Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania."

—*The SEA Staff*

Presbyterians Look at the PLATFORMS

AN ANALYSIS of party platforms is always a precarious business. Behind the pledges and promises are always provisos and reservations which go unspoken. This is unfortunate but understandable. The two platforms presented to the American people are much too ambiguous and adjectival as adopted, but they would have been unwieldy had the committees tried to anticipate in each policy statement all the possible shifts of social and economic conditions and the day-by-day necessities of party strategy which require reconsideration, delay, and compromise.

The fact that party platforms leave much to be desired in terms of inciseness is not simply a matter of bowing to "short-range expediency rather than long-range principles." It is often a matter of relevancy and realism. The committees that formulate the General Assembly pronouncements that become marching orders for the Department of Social Education and Action know some-

thing of this problem of policy-making. It is one thing to write a platform acceptable to a national convention; it is quite another thing to convert those policies into bills, designate the source of revenue that will implement them, and get a partisan Congress to enact them into the law of the land. Politicians rarely make promises without "all-other-things-being-equal" as the tacit assumption. In this respect they are not unlike most of the ordinary people in the world.

This, of course, does not excuse either Church assemblies or political conventions from asking for or promising more than can possibly be delivered. However, the universality of this practice among those who depend upon the approval of the American public does illustrate the fact that we tend to want simple idealistic solutions to complex problems and often make it incumbent upon our leaders to pretend that such solutions are possible.

But beyond the dubious pledges and promises, a comparison of the two party platforms adopted this year is especially difficult. More than ever the Republicans sound like Democrats and the Democrats sound somewhat like Republicans. Economic and political developments in this country and abroad have brought both parties embarrassingly close together. Moreover, when everybody knows that there are qualifying considerations to everything, it is possible to say almost anything.

Both parties have wanted to pronounce the policies that the various blocs, special interests, minority and regional groupings want to hear. The trick is to pronounce them with as much impunity as possible.

Despite the difficulties, there is some merit to an analysis and comparison of what was said in Chicago and San Francisco if only to note the interesting shifts of emphasis, the omissions and evasions, the commitments to which attention may be called after the 85th Congress begins its work.

There are differences in tone and emphasis in the two 1956 platforms. The Republicans, of course, talked much about "achievements," the Democrats about "dismal failure," but beyond this obvious difference it is patent that the Republican statement was less given to exaggerated promises and radical departures than the earlier Democratic one. The Republican platform was not only less wordy, it was more subdued, more confident, more aloof from bitter partisanship.

Both statements bespeak a "lib-

eral" trend in domestic policy and the bipartisan consensus which characterized American foreign policy over the past ten years. One detects, however, the influence of the conservatives in the stronger Republican emphasis on individualism, welfare "consistent with a balanced budget," resistance to "Federal activities wrongfully competing with private enterprise," and further "reductions in the cost of government."

On the issue of civil rights, however, the Republican platform—while evading the difficult implementation question—did show more courage in "accepting" the Supreme Court decisions on public-school segregation.

In contrast, the Democrats refused to acknowledge the validity of the public-school rulings or to promise legislative and executive action to enforce them. They were also surprisingly restrained in their traditional support of free trade, and apparently conceded to the economic groups that fear foreign competition for the American market.

The Democratic platform sticks to the familiar "bread and butter" issues which have always attracted to that party the lower-income and labor segments—wages, tax relief, social welfare, Federal low-cost power programs, and repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. Here, also, a balanced budget is promised, but the context is progress with economic justice, rather than the stress on sound money and stemming inflation which came out of San Francisco.

When one places the key statements of these platforms beside the pronouncements of the 168th Gen-

eral Assembly, it is clear that the pronouncements are even more general than the platforms. It would be highly presumptuous to suppose that our ministers, representing the Department of Social Education and Action before both platform committees, were able to influence the statements that were finally sent to the floor. However, the 168th General Assembly did make some fairly specific appeals in several areas of concern which must have been instructive to the platform committees. It should have been evident that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., is in favor of more progressive legislation of a social and economic character and for increased international co-operation and assistance in foreign affairs. Not nearly enough was said in either platform about the latter concern.

It is interesting to note that the

representative of the Department of Social Education and Action who testified before the Democratic Platform Committee felt that, although courteously received, his testimony made much less of an impression than in 1952. Two Presbyterian representatives appeared before the Republican committee. They reported three separate appearances before subcommittees and felt "very much the worth-whileness of making our conviction and testimony heard." Besides the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., the National Council of Churches and the Society of Friends were the only religious groups to appear.

The following is a comparison of the relevant "action" sections of the pronouncements of the 168th General Assembly with some of the key statements from the Democratic and Republican platforms.

In International Affairs

The 168th General Assembly

Calls upon our Government to recognize the urgency of wholehearted participation in United Nations agencies and programs; and . . .

Urges our Government to continue to initiate negotiations for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, pursuing such negotiations vigorously within the collective security concepts of the United Nations, when possible, and to continue to make unrelenting efforts to find a solution to the present deadlock over methods of disarmament; . . .

Urges our Government (1) to give assurance of appropriation of funds for economic aid on a long-term basis, (2) to review and debate foreign aid proposals without acrimony and partisan maneuvering so that decisions will be made on the basis of human welfare, and (3) to make substantial increases in programs for the distribution of agricultural surpluses through agencies such as CARE, CROP, and Church World Service. . . .

Urges our Congress to approve participation in OTC as a means for administering general trade agree-

ments and for honoring the procedures which we have already agreed to in the General Agreement on

Tariffs and Trade in order to promote and expand trade throughout the free world.

Democrats We deplore the Republican tendency to use the United Nations only when it suits them, ignoring or bypassing it whenever they please.

We pledge determined opposition to the admission of the Communist Chinese into the United Nations. . . .

We pledge the Democratic Party to pursue vigorously this great goal of enforced disarmament in full awareness that irreparable injury, even total destruction, now threatens the human race. . . .

[The Democratic Party pledges support to a policy to] promote international exchange of commodities by creating an international food reserve fostering commodity agreements, and vigorously administering the International Trade and Development Act. . . .

We shall continue to support vigorously the Hull reciprocal trade program.

Republicans We shall continue vigorously to support the United Nations. We shall continue to oppose the seating of Communist China in the United Nations. . . .

President Eisenhower has given the world bold proposals for mutual arms reduction and protection against aggression through flying sentinels in an "open sky."

We support this and his further offer of United States participation in an International Fund for Economic Development financed from the savings brought by true disarmament. We approve his determined resistance to disarmament without effective inspection. . . .

Barriers which impede international trade and the flow of capital should be reduced on a gradual, selective, and reciprocal basis, with full recognition of the necessity to safeguard domestic enterprises, agriculture, and labor against unfair import competition. We proudly point out that the Republican Party was primarily responsible for initiating the escape clause and peril point provisions of law to make effective the necessary safeguards for American agriculture, labor, and business.

In Racial and Cultural Relations

The 168th General Assembly

Emphasizing that it is the policy and purpose of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. to work for a nonsegregated society as well as a nonsegregated church . . .

Enjoins presbyteries and, especially, church sessions to consider

prayerfully, in the light of the testimony of Scripture for love and justice, the common voice of the Church Universal against racial segregation, and the developments cited above, the corporate response God asks of them in the specific situations in which they find themselves.

Democrats Recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States relating to segregation in publicly supported schools and elsewhere have brought consequences of vast importance to our nation as a whole

and especially to communities directly affected. We reject all proposals for the use of force to interfere with the orderly determination of these matters by the courts.

Republicans The Republican Party accepts the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court that racial discrimination in publicly supported schools must be progressively eliminated. We concur in the conclusion of the Supreme Court that its decision directing school desegregation should be accomplished with "all deliberate speed" locally through Federal district courts. . . .

Use of force or violence by any group or agency will tend only to worsen the many problems inherent in the situation. This progress must be encouraged and the work of the courts supported in every legal manner by all branches of the Federal Government to the end that the Constitutional ideal of equality before the law, regardless of race, creed, or color, will be steadily achieved.

In Economic Life

The 168th General Assembly

Urges state and Federal Government agencies and legislators to carry out public policies that will give state and national forests and grasslands protection from exploitation and selfish waste; that will initiate or continue progress against air and water pollution; . . .

Urges that Christian conscience be brought to bear on the wasteful use of water, and on the development of public policy to utilize our water resources and hydroelectric potential; . . .

Urges Christian farmers and their urban brothers to seek national policies to solve the dilemma now so apparent in the cost-price squeeze and

attendant problems, assuring continued existence of the family type farm, and encouraging a bountiful production to meet human needs; . . .

Calls upon Congress and appropriate departments of the Government to expand rather than contract programs of rehabilitation, improved schools, vocational training, land conservation and improvement, and more effective extension services, low-cost supervised farm credit, and technical assistance to low-income families in farm and urban areas; and

Calls upon Federal and state legislatures and municipal governments to develop tax plans that do not place added burdens on the chronically poor.

Democrats Our people will long remember this betrayal of their heritage as symbolized by the infamous Dixon-Yates contract; the Al Sarena timber "mining" scheme; and the low-level Hell's Canyon dam. . . .

We will take appropriate and vigorous steps to prevent comprehensive drainage basin development plans from being fragmented by single-purpose projects. The conservation of water is essential to the life of the nation. The Democratic Party pledges itself to conservation of water in the public interest.

The Democratic Eighty-fourth Congress has taken a long step toward reducing the pollution of our rivers and streams. We pledge continuation and expansion of this program, vital to every citizen. . . .

[The Democratic Party pledges support to a policy to] repeal the Eisenhower flexible, collapsible price supports and restore supports on basic commodities

at 90 per cent of parity, as provided in the bill vetoed by President Eisenhower, and regain the full 100 per cent of parity farmers received under Democratic Administrations. We will achieve this by means of commodity loans, direct purchases, direct payments to producers, marketing agreements and orders, production adjustments, or a combination of these and other appropriate measures. . . .

[The Democratic Party pledges support to a policy to] promote programs which will protect and preserve the family type farm as a bulwark of American life and encourage farm-home ownership, including additional assistance to family farmers and young farmers in the form of specially designed credit and price support programs, technical aid, and enlarged soil conservation allowances; . . .

We unequivocally advocate repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. The act must be repealed because state "right-to-work" laws have their genesis in its discriminatory antilabor provisions. . . .

We favor realistic tax adjustments, giving first consideration to small independent business and the small individual taxpayer. Lower income families need tax relief; only a Democratic victory will assure this. We favor an increase in the present personal tax exemption of \$600 to a minimum of at least \$800.

Republicans We commend the Eisenhower Administration for encouraging state and local governments, public agencies, and regulated private enterprise to participate actively in comprehensive water and power development. In such partnership we are leading the way with great Federal developments such as the Upper Colorado project and with partnership projects of great importance, some of which have been shelved by the Democratic Eighty-fourth Congress.

In the marketing of Federally produced power we support preference to public bodies and co-operatives under the historic policy of the Congress.

We will continue to press for co-operative solution of all problems of water supply and distribution, reclamation, pollution, flood control, and saline water conversion. . . .

Convinced that the Government should ever be the farmer's helper, never his master, the Republican Party is pledged: . . .

To encourage agricultural producers in their efforts to seek solutions to their own production and price problems;

To provide price supports as in the Agricultural Act of 1954 that protect farmers, rather than price their products out of the market; . . .

To bring sympathetic and understanding relief promptly to farm and ranch families hard hit with problems of drought, flood, or other natural disaster, or economic disaster, and to maintain the integrity of these programs by terminating them when the emergency is over. . . .

Then, in so far as consistent with a balanced budget, we pledge to work toward these additional objectives:

Further reductions in taxes with particular consideration for low- and middle-income families. . . .

Revise and improve the Taft-Hartley Act so as to protect more effectively the rights of labor unions, management, the individual worker, and the public.

In Education

<i>The 168th General Assembly</i>	strengthen public education and re-
Re-examines its previous pro-	affirms its support of such Federal
nouncements on Federal aid to	contributions to education as shall

be applied exclusively to the aid of tax-supported public schools, on condition that the funds be (1) allocated according to a formula that moves toward full educational opportunity in the public elementary and secondary schools, in the various sections of

the nation, and, within the states, in both urban and rural districts; (2) safeguarded against the imposition of Federal control in matters of educational policy and administration; and (3) administered with a minimum of administrative costs.

Democrats We pledge the Democratic Party to the following:

(1) Legislation providing Federal financing to assist states and local communities to build schools, and to provide essential health and safety services for all school children;

(2) Better educational, health, and welfare opportunities for children of migratory workers;

(3) Assistance to programs for training teachers of exceptional children;

(4) Programs providing for the training of teachers to meet the critical shortage in technical and scientific fields;

(5) Expansion of the program of student, teacher, and cultural exchange with other nations.

Republicans The Republican Party will renew its efforts to enact a program based on sound principles of need and designed to encourage increased state and local efforts to build more classrooms.

In Citizenship and Civil Liberties

The 168th General Assembly

Calls upon Christians to work for the removal of the poll tax and other restrictions which prevent many American citizens from exercising their legal rights at the polls, and which affront the dignity of men.

[Reaffirms the pronouncement of the 167th General Assembly stating that

“It becomes the duty of churches to be zealous in the protection of the rights and freedoms promised by our religious and political heritage.”]

Democrats The Democratic Party favors prompt revision of the immigration and nationality laws to eliminate unfair provisions under which admissions to this country depend upon quotas based upon the accident of national origin. . . .

The Democratic Party pledges itself to continue its efforts to eliminate illegal discriminations of all kinds, in relation to (1) full rights to vote, (2) full rights to engage in gainful occupations, (3) full rights to enjoy security of the person, and (4) full rights to education in all publicly supported institutions.

Republicans We believe . . . that the Congress should consider the extension of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 in resolving this difficult refugee problem which resulted from world conflict.

From an Address of SENATOR CLINTON P. ANDERSON, Chairman, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, at the Overseas Breakfast at the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, May 29, 1956

THE CANDLE OF THE LORD

IT IS my purpose to sketch the world scene and to try to discover how atomic energy may affect it, to consider what spiritual significance atomic energy may have over the world today, or, in other words, to discover what atomic energy and atomic power mean as we try to build a Christian civilization.

First of all, then, what does a layman see on the horizon? Are there spots that give us concern? Is there a tenseness in the air? Do we live in a troubled and restless world?

Obviously space does not permit a careful review of world conditions. But a few quick glances might be in order to see if forces of integration, of community, of peace are drawing us more surely together than divisive forces are pushing us apart.

The United States has placed great faith in NATO—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Today it is in a state of disintegration, and the most recent meeting of NATO ministers

was, in effect, an added failure. Despite the creation of a commission of three wise men who are supposed to explore the totality of NATO to see in what field it can be broadened, the fact remains that NATO was never in a more dangerous state than at present, nor is it prepared to become stronger in the future.

Trouble Spots

In the book of Proverbs there are these words: "The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord." If the spirit of man can bring into being a candle which will shine some light into this problem of NATO, then we may hope that this international effort may not head toward eventual disintegration but instead may find increasing strength.

But let me mention some of the little things that threaten to set aside our high hopes for the future of mankind. For example, the United States has been asked by the Ice-

landic Parliament to withdraw from our air bases there, even though we came in initially at the request of Iceland itself and have spent there 200 million dollars in projects.

In the middle of NATO, the French have withdrawn practically all their divisions assigned to NATO in order to handle the trouble in Algeria.

On the eastern anchor of NATO, we have the trouble in Cyprus which involves Great Britain, Greece, and Turkey. Britain's only remaining major base in the Near East is Cyprus, which she must maintain to protect the oil of the Middle East, on which England and Western Europe depend for 90 per cent of their needs. Cyprus has a world importance all out of proportion to its size.

The Arab-Israeli question has been accentuated by the penetration, economically and politically, of the Soviet Union and its satellites into that area. The Soviet Union is, for the first time, in both the Middle East and Africa, and in to stay.

In South Asia, Nehru is facing tremendous difficulties internally. In Thailand there is a shift away from its alliance with us and toward neutralism.

In Southeast Asia, Cambodia has indicated, as Indonesia has so pointedly announced, that it will receive help from any quarter. Viet Nam still has a long and difficult road to travel.

Singapore may well be on the verge of being lost to Great Britain, and it would not be surprising, unless there is a dramatic turn of events, if this crown colony were to go Communist.

The importance of the Bandung Conference of April, 1955, cannot be

overestimated, because out of this conference came the Afro-Asian bloc, which is becoming more unified and stronger as time goes on—especially in its voting strength in the United Nations.

Hong Kong is being held only by sufferance. Formosa and Korea are being maintained largely through United States help, and Ceylon, as the result of recent elections, is shifting away from the West and toward closer relations with the Communist states.

Perhaps the two most important areas of the world at the present time are Germany at one end of the Soviet Empire and Japan at the other.

The people of the United States should be led to appreciate that Japan's population is increasing at the rate of two million a year and that this poses an extremely difficult problem for her with not more than 16 per cent of her land arable and with many resources missing that her economy sorely needs. Japan obviously faces three choices: (1) increased trade with the world; (2) trade where she can find it and continued assistance from the United States; or (3) going Communist. If the first two fail or falter, the third result may well happen, not because of any sympathy for the Communist ideology, but because of economic necessity.

Germany, on the other hand, is interested primarily in unification. The Western world has placed great reliance on rehabilitation, reconstruction, and the possible rearming of the Western German army. The Soviet Union, to look at the other side of the coin, has the power to compel Eastern Germany to unify

with Western Germany; she can offer the return of lands which she and the Poles have taken from the Germans; she can persuade Czechoslovakia to effect a Sudeten land settlement; she can offer trade and economic opportunities to the East; and she might well ask in return a treaty of neutrality and a German withdrawal from NATO. While Adenauer may refuse, we have a right to wonder what the German people would do.

Africa is in a state of turmoil. In Latin America there are strong indications that the Soviet Union is seeking to extend its way economically.

Thus we can call a partial roll of trouble spots, and the list is not complete.

The Ultimate Weapon

We would all agree that the world we live in is troubled and restless, but why is this condition particularly perilous now? The world has been at war before, has been divided between alliances of great powers, has seen the areas of conflict grow until nearly all the civilized world became involved, but has come at last to the day of armistice and peace when the wounds of war could be slowly bound up and the scars of a hundred battles could disappear. Is this experience unique?

Yes, it is unique, without parallel in history. If man could destroy his fellow men in the past, such destruction was limited. But we have come a long way from the days when the walls of Jericho came tumbling down. We passed through the age of gunpowder, through the conflict between the trench and the tank, through the terrific pounding of aerial bombardment and the menace

of the submarine that lurked in the sea. Now we are not content with airplanes that sweep through skies at several times the speed of sound, not made safe by atomic antiaircraft missiles that can track an attacking bomber and explode it and its cargo, not satisfied with submarines propelled by nuclear fuel that may lurk in deep waters months on end. For instance, the crew of the *Nautilus* jokingly boasts that their ship needs surface only to let its crew members re-enlist! But with it all, it is not enough.

Now we study and design and test for the ultimate weapon, if such there be. We want the tools for a push-button war. We will have guided missiles with warheads that will be able to fly at thousands of miles an hour, far above the range of defense guns, and hit a target 5,000 miles away with deadly accuracy. We will have bombs that will plunge into the far depths of the ocean and wipe out a whole nest of submarines. We will have power to fill the stratosphere with atomic particles so dangerously charged that airplane crews cannot pilot their craft. So we will find what we may then call "safety" in these arsenals of annihilation—on land, in the sky, and deep in the bosom of the sea. Only—these will not bring safety, and we will not know peace!

New Plans for Atomic Energy

We have had before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy of the 84th Congress a long parade of witnesses outlining the latest plans for the military application of atomic energy. These top military leaders were competent and convincing. They not only paraded their weapons

and explained their plans. They estimated the capability of the enemy and then played for us the game of war with different sets of assumptions as to which combatant had taken the initiative.

From all their testimony, there seems to me but one conclusion: that we and the enemy become, as one scientist said, like two scorpions in a bottle. Each scorpion has the power to inflict the sting of death. Naturally, he seeks to maneuver himself into a position where, if he sees the need, he may destroy the other without harm to himself. But, being scorpions, each recognizes that to close with his opponent means the risk of a deadly counterstroke. And so we sit in uneasy stalemate, realizing that war with atomic and thermonuclear weapons not only means the destruction of the active participants but could easily mean the end of civilization itself.

Of course, we could remove ourselves from the bottle, and so could our opponents, merely by dismantling totally and forever all manner of atomic arms. But that brings only partial relief. The intelligence that taught us to make the bomb may tell us how to fashion new devices not banned by rules but equally destructive.

For man has reached to the very source of the energies resident in the cosmos—atomic energy. In doing so he binds to his will a force that seems without limit by the finite standards of man—yet puny in contrast to the infinite power of God.

Life or Death

Latent in this almost unbounded source of energy are immense possi-

bilities for both life and death—death because no man can hope for immunity from the world-wide contamination of earth and atmosphere that would result from all-out nuclear war. Yet every day brings stories of how the split atom may be used to bring new standards of health, wealth, and happiness to the peoples of the earth.

Near Chicago is an isotope farm where plants and animals can be raised in an atmosphere of radioactive carbon dioxide. From this work come the tools for the investigation of biochemical mechanisms. We will soon begin to learn how our bodies work, what throws them out of gear, and what therapy might set them right again.

Near New York City is a laboratory where radioactive isotopes are being applied to the problems of agriculture. There tracers can be followed through a growing plant like a man carrying a lighted lantern down a dark street at night. We see how a plant uses its food, and what foods best suit the digestive systems of different plants. We have not yet learned why a red cow eats green grass and gives white milk, but we learn how to trace tiny particles from the roots of a plant to its branches and leaves, how to produce disease-resistant varieties of grains and fiber, and how to grow more and better food.

Of course, here in America where agricultural surpluses are a perpetual headache to Congress and the farmer, this science may be of no immediate value; but there are hungry mouths in many parts of the world where we might go, not to be ministered unto but to minister.

After all, with world population increasing by fifty million persons each year, the day of food surpluses may not last forever—even in America.

The atom, then, has possibilities for life or death. Of itself, atomic energy knows nothing of these ends to which it may be put. It is in the truest sense a neutral. The decision to use it for one purpose or another rests with man himself.

Indeed, if atomic energy presented only the issue of life or death it might be in no way different from all the material means at man's disposal. But there is a difference which is made evident by the orders of magnitude of what the new power does. A week ago a hydrogen-type bomb was exploded in the Pacific. It was not nearly so powerful as we know how to make bombs, but it had the TNT equivalent of all the firepower this nation used in World War II—in rifles, in field artillery, in naval shells, and in the rain of bombs that poured from our airplanes. It was a "one-shot atomic war." What if a hundred such bombs should fall?

Perhaps as we think of that grim possibility, our reflections will permit us to penetrate beyond the issues of life and death to those that are really decisive. For beyond them are to be found the larger issues of justice and injustice, of right and wrong. In the last analysis, these might be regarded as the true alternatives between which a choice must be made.

The making of a right choice in these matters will involve courses of action that are many and varied. The

possibility of physical destruction must be a matter of concern for each and every one of us. It cannot be otherwise when all-out nuclear warfare could mean the annihilation of human life on this planet. Consciousness of this fact should serve to demonstrate anew the moral solidarity of mankind. It should likewise serve to demonstrate that every man is responsible to all men and for all men. The problem we face is to make all men feel this responsibility that is theirs.

Individual Responsibility

How do I intend to exercise my responsibility?

First of all, I shall not rely on the power of destruction. That does not mean that my voice or vote will be used to cripple the defense of my country or to stop the development of its weapons. On the contrary, I shall favor the programs of defense as a deterrent to the horror of atomic war. But I shall know that there can be no victor in a nuclear conflict, and I shall want mankind to survive.

Second, I shall seek to encourage at home and abroad an understanding of the basic issues confronting mankind today.

When President Sukarno of Indonesia addressed a joint meeting of the Congress of the United States, he told us that he had come to the United States to see our country with his own eyes, to confirm or to modify the impressions of this land which he had collected from afar over a period of many years. But most of all, he had come to learn something from America—not merely as a nation, but as a "state of mind."

That, in my judgment, is the part of his address that appealed most to the Congress—this concept that the visitor from abroad must study not only the physical characteristics of our country, must count not only the dollars we may spend in our programs of military and economic aid to the free peoples of the earth, but must know the state of mind that exists in America itself. This understanding of us and our problems—and our appreciation of theirs—may in the long run persuade the uncommitted peoples of the earth to cast their lot with us and our Allies in the world-wide cause of freedom and right. Without it, they may turn to some other land which may offer less in material goods but more in sympathetic understanding.

Third, I shall recognize in atomic energy an instrument that may be useful in the endeavor to find peace. To do that, it may be necessary to cast off the bonds of materialism and practice the ancient and noble Christian virtue of sacrifice, but the goal is worth it.

How Important Is Atomic Power?

The hearings of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy have been devoted to the subject of the nation's reactor program. Testimony has been given for more than a week, on every facet of the subject.

Through our testimony—like a red thread woven into a dull blanket—has been the showing that here in America the development of cheap atomic power is not urgent. As a nation, we have large supplies of power generated by falling water—

and we are about to add Niagara to our supply. We have inexhaustible supplies of coal from which electricity might be generated, and we have a reasonable supply of gas and oil.

Then, too, the presently planned atomic power plants will not be competitive with conventional plants using fossil fuels. Therefore, their construction in America now would impose a double burden: the current would be costlier and the plants would soon be outmoded.

But there are areas of the earth where power costs are high and where atomic power is soon to be cheaper than conventional power. Hence England has already turned the electricity from its first plant into its national grid, and Russia will be building its first atomic plants in the European areas where power is high, but not in Siberia where coal is abundant. Likewise, atomic power is attractive to many sections of South America, in Turkey, and in parts of Africa.

Peaceful Uses

We must discover what we can do to help atomic energy build a Christian civilization. Presbyterians are at work in thirty-four countries, and in many of these lands the very thing that they can use most is atomic power.

To these friendly lands and to these uncommitted peoples of the earth, I would send the evidence of our purpose to use the atom for peace, not just the nuclear fuel which the President has already splendidly promised, but the vessels in which it is to burn. Thereby we would test the most promising types of reactors, revise and rework them under actual

operating conditions, and thus have them ready for our own use at home when the cost of their electricity became competitive with the energy we now have in abundance. Such a program could cost us a billion dollars in five years, a large sum to be sure, but only a small part of what is now contemplated on military aid abroad. It would pay far greater dividends both in security and satisfaction. Actually the House of Representatives seems to feel that the cost of foreign aid might be cut a billion dollars this very year—enough for a whole program of international atomic aid.

Then what we did would speak clearly to the world that we are a nation devoted to peace, working through Christian faith toward the goal of world-wide justice and welfare.

If "the spirit of man is the candle of the Lord," then the candle would shine in these far fields where humble people need this blessing of modern science poured out to them.

First, in many cases they need such a program in research and in building up adequate numbers of trained scientists, engineers, and technicians. We must encourage these activities; and the moral influence of the Church can help to enlist new trainees and potential scientists from other lands.

Second, they need it in medicine, and we have medical research reactors scheduled for use in friendly countries. Thereby they see the beneficent side of the atom, the medical research reactor—the giver of life.

Third, they need it in food. Here again we are not dealing with the agriculture of the United States. The

world has never had enough to eat, and in many of these thirty-four lands the skill developed by atomic research would be very welcome.

Fourth, they need it for power. At the Geneva Conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy last August, Dr. Homi Bhabha described the energy problem of India, where 75 per cent of their energy comes from cow dung. With population on the march, India needs new assistance in the development of power. Where will she turn if not to this Christian land? Surely the sacrifices we will require in our own program will be nothing compared to the benefits we will bring to them.

"The candle of the Lord"—how will it shine around the earth? The decisions now being made in America on these problems of atomic power may determine how far it will throw its light. These decisions with regard to the use of atomic energy are being shaped by a very few men. The spiritual problems of the multitudes are pressing ones, indeed. But still more pressing are the problems of these leaders of the people in this day of atomic crisis. It is a spiritual and moral problem of the greatest moment.

From my post of observation in the Senate of the United States and as chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy of the Congress, I have no doubt whatever about the material strength of this nation. Yours is the responsibility to see that the spiritual strength is not lacking to the end that our people and our leaders may continue to discharge their responsibilities to all mankind and prove this truly to be a "nation under God."

A Statement Endorsed by the General Board of
the National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the U.S.A., June 6, 1956

Christian Responsibility

In the 1956 Elections

THE American people, during 1956, will participate in a national election. The peace, security, and welfare of the United States and of the entire world will be affected by the outcome of this election. Whether or not by their own choice, it has been given the American people to play a major, if not a decisive, role on the far-flung stage of human events. The decision reached by them at the polls on November 6 will profoundly influence the shape of things to come.

A Concern of All the People

The political campaign now in progress will involve four decisive stages: the drafting of party platforms; the nomination of candidates; the appeal for votes; and the casting of ballots. At each stage of this national campaign and in all state and local elections the individuals in our churches have the right and the duty to be heard. Political endeavor is ennobled when it is put to the test of conscience. The God of our fathers continues to call us to seek and do his will in our public life. It is for Christians to assert their influence to the end that the political struggle upon which the country is embarking will strengthen the ramparts of freedom at home and add to the moral stature of our nation among the peoples of the world.

The ways in which we decide these questions are manifold. In addition to our vote at the polls, the normal contacts of our daily life affect public thought and decision. . . . Through individuals and groups we can help to create a public climate of integrity . . . at a time when great decisions are hanging in the balance. The moral tone and conduct of the nation in the period of a campaign is basic to sound political decisions.

It will be the responsibility of political leaders at the forthcoming nominating conventions to define the guiding principles upon which their respective

candidates will stand for election. They should be encouraged by the people to stand on high principle. The official pronouncements of the churches in the area of social action might well be taken into account in the drafting of party platforms. When, in their religious assemblies, Christians speak their mind on social issues they do so under the compulsion of the gospel to which they are beholden. What they say, therefore, has relevance to the issues that will be dealt with in party platforms. The personal competence and integrity of each candidate together with his stand on central issues should weigh more heavily than the appeal of his personality when we cast our vote.

The Responsibility of Churches

With respect to domestic policy, churches have worked closely with public agencies in improving the social welfare of our people. While with penitence the churches are aware of unresolved problems of human relationships within their own lives, nevertheless corporately and through their members they have supported efforts to preserve and extend civil rights and civil liberties to all groups in our population, to extend the voting franchise to all qualified citizens, to achieve equality of opportunity for all, and to assure equal protection to all before the law. . . . They have sought to improve the standards of ethical conduct in political activity and public office. They have engaged in studies of our civic and political life in an effort to give greater guidance to the churches and to Christian individuals in the principles of Christian public action. Believing that the will of God should be sought for all areas of life, they have tried to discover his will and obey it in the area of public responsibility.

With respect to foreign policy, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and many of its constituent bodies have urged the United States to accept its responsibilities as a member of the family of nations and to strive by every honorable means to establish peace and justice upon the earth. More specifically, the churches have called for

continued participation by the United States in the United Nations . . . ;

participation by the United States in security pacts designed to prevent aggression;

enactment of immigration and naturalization legislation that will be just in principle and nondiscriminatory in practice; . . .

economic aid and technical assistance for underdeveloped areas;

distribution of American food surpluses to feed the hungry;

safeguarding of human rights and freedoms, including the right of subject and dependent peoples to governments of their own choosing;

development of a trustworthy system for the regulation and reduction of armaments, including weapons of mass destruction.

The foregoing are among the policies approved by our churches, policies which we commend to all voters and to those responsible for the nomination of candidates and the drafting of party platforms. Members of churches are urged to bring issues such as these, on the basis of high Christian principle, to party leaders and candidates for office. . . . Above all, Christians should recall that they have fallen far short of the goals which have been formulated in the name of our Christian faith. We are challenged by this new opportunity provided by the forthcoming elections to act more truly in line with our Christian duty.

Campaign Standards

In their appeal for votes candidates for public office should act with forthright integrity and disdain all forms of demagoguery. Citizens should be alert to insure that there is no resort to intimidation or bribery, direct or indirect, and that all potential voters in the population are given encouragement to register. The honor and prestige of our nation must not be thrown to the winds of irresponsible political disputation. It is right and proper that American policy, domestic and foreign, be vigorously debated during the weeks ahead. Indeed, the important controversial issues should be lifted up, not watered down. This debate should not proceed, however, on the basis of sectional, racial, religious, or class considerations. . . . To set class against class, or religion against religion, or race against race, is a degrading process and one that should be repudiated alike by Protestants, Orthodox, Roman Catholics, and Jews. The well-being of our people at home, and the position of the United States in the eyes of the world, transcend the partisan fortunes of this candidate or that.

Not the candidates alone, but the people as a whole, should participate actively in the discussion of public issues. This should be true in relation to all areas of debate—local, state, and national. If our democracy is to flourish, the decisions must be made by the people upon whom it is based.

The final stage of the election campaign will be reached on November 6, when the people go to the polls. Too many of our people . . . have failed to participate in the political process by which our nation charts its course at home and abroad. That an average of less than 60 per cent of the potential ballot for President has been cast in recent elections, and that the proportion often is much lower in many local and state elections, is a national disgrace. A free and secret ballot is one of the treasured privileges of American citizenship. . . . It is hoped, therefore, that at the appointed time every person who is entitled to do so will cast his ballot for those candidates whose qualifications correspond with his conception of what is best for America. Let us remember that this must apply in our democratic society to every public office, from the least conspicuous local office to the Presidency of the United States.

This Nation Under God

It is the fervent prayer of the National Council of Churches that in the exercise of their franchise the voters of our country will prove worthy of

their heritage as a free people under God. For Christians, particularly, it would be a great misfortune if, in this time of decision, their political loyalties were not governed by considerations of truth, justice, and righteousness. . . . But of greater importance than the victory of this or that political party at the polls in November is the victory that will be shared by all our people if decisions are made that will strengthen the foundations of American freedom and enhance the prospects for peace and concord throughout the world.

To these ends, we call upon the members of our churches to act worthily of the calling wherewith we are called. Let us all pray for the guidance of God, that his will may be done through us and through all the citizens of our land.

Copies of this Statement may be secured at 5 cents per copy, \$4.00 per hundred, or \$30.00 per thousand from the Division of Christian Life and Work, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

EXTRA READING

"The Christian and Political Decisions," by William Lee Miller. Reprint from *Crossroads*, July-September, 1956. Available free from P.D.S.

Questions for Christians in 1956. Raises some of the questions regarding national and international affairs that will be before the public in the fall election. 10 cents each; 10-100 copies, 5 cents each; 100-1,000 copies, 4 cents each; 1,000 or more, 3 cents each. Order from P.D.S.

Religious Ethics and the Politics of Power, by Vernon H. Holloway. Church Peace Union, 170 E. 64th St., New York 21, N.Y. 1951. 50 cents.

An excellent study booklet on the Christian faith and world politics for mature individuals and study groups.

A Political Action Handbook. Friends Committee on National Legislation. 10 cents each; \$9.50 for 100; \$80.00 for 1,000. Order from P.D.S.

Register Christian Opinion! A Congressional directory to aid in legislative action in 1956. 10 cents each; 50 cents for 12; \$3.50 for 100. Order from Board of World Peace of The Methodist Church, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.

Program Material for Social Education and Action Leaders. Bibliography of literature in all areas of social concern recommended by the Department. Free. Order from P.D.S.

...Worship.....

TO STAY IN THE WORLD

A Service of Worship in Preparation for Political Activity

Let the Minister Say: Let us worship God.

Call to Worship

"Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth."

Remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, "I do not pray that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from the evil one."

Adoration

Minister—Glory, laud, and honor be unto thee, O God, who created the eternal world, and by whose providence dost sustain its governments and peoples, institutions and authorities, unto life and peace. All thy works praise thee in all places of thy dominion. Wherefore we glorify thee, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, one God, blessed forever. Amen.

Confession

Minister and People—O most merciful God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who pardonest all our iniquities and healeth all our diseases and turnest not away those that put their trust in thee: We humbly confess our sins and implore thy mercy. Hear our prayer, for we cannot forgive our own sin. Thou alone canst absolve us.

We have not loved thee as we ought, nor have we loved our neighbors. We have tolerated injustice and betrayed truth. We have lived as though to be not of the world meant that we should isolate ourselves from the problems of the world. We have bypassed its needs and escaped its responsibilities. Behind the closed doors of our churches our hymns have drowned out the cry of anguish in the streets.

Forgive us, we beseech thee, O God, our pious aloofness, and renew a right spirit within us. Forgive our fatuous optimism, and give us the crucial realism of faith. Forgive our high-minded spirituality,

and make us perceive the sacredness of the works of our hands. Forgive our innocuous offenses whereby we evade the true test of faith, and make us obedient in action and confident in grace where opposing wills and tensions are the necessities of involvement.

We humbly cast our lives and actions upon thy forgiving love; according to the multitude of thy tender mercies, blot out our sin. Correct our errors. Rectify our judgments. Cleanse us from secret faults, and restore unto us the joy of thy salvation, through the perfect sacrifice of Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Assurance of Pardon

Minister—If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just and will forgive our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness. If anyone does sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the expiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world. Amen.

Hymn: "Ancient of Days, Who Sittest Throned in Glory"

The Scripture Lesson: Jeremiah 29: 1-14

Meditation on the Lesson

"But seek the welfare of the city where I have sent you into exile, and pray to the Lord on its behalf, for in its welfare you will find your welfare." (Jer. 29: 7.)

This advice from Jeremiah to his people in subjection to Nebuchadnezzar warns them against the temptation to make the welfare of the religious community a separate concern from that of the nation in which they reside. It has, however, broader implications.

It counsels against any exclusive, clannish reform movement which seeks to impose some preconceived idea of Jewish society upon the rest of the citizens. Instead the Jews are to "seek the welfare of the city . . . , for in its welfare you will find your welfare."

This should disabuse us today from any notion of action which would separate Christian welfare from welfare in general, or "Christian politics" from the plain, humdrum, every election variety.

Relatively speaking, there are, of course, good politics and bad, good politicians and bad politicians. But this is not a very helpful way of stating the case in a time when all politics are suspect by religious people.

Perhaps it is better to say simply, there is the fact of politics—the business of managing the inevitable tensions and complexities of society

as to maximize human contentment—and there is our sinful participation as Christians or non-Christians, Americans or Russians, Republicans or Democrats.

Rather than demarcate “our” welfare from “theirs” (the politicians, the pagans, the Wall Street crowd, and the ADA’ers), rather than draw a fine line between the good and the bad, our calling is to work for the good with the help of all who would help, for the benefit of everyone, and under rules which everyone has a hand in making. God will be the judge when the last card has been played in the game of politics.

Politics is the Christian’s business because he must stay in the world. He has neither a special political acumen nor a superior political virtue. What he does have—discernments, perspectives, sensitivities, concerns—he renders unto Caesar as a calling from the Christ who is Lord of all.

There is politics. There is the nation which cannot exist without it. We live in it and we have to do something about it. As persons we were hewn from the rock of its ethos and democratic traditions; its culture nurtured our prejudices, attitudes, and loyalties. Our welfare is bound up in its welfare and its destiny is our own.

Let Christians remember the words of Jesus on his last night on earth: “I do not pray that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from the evil one.”

Prayer of Commitment

Minister and People—Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, bless thy Church and make it a blessing to all mankind; grant that we may understand, forgive, and have compassion on the world in which thou hast set us, as agents of thy redemption. Make us to know the fellowship of its suffering and its yearning for wholeness. Help us to share its burden of maintaining law and order. Grant that as we participate in its political life we may work in all parties for good, vote with informed opinion in all public elections, and support all those who stand for sound government, just laws, and the welfare of all people. Give us the discerning judgment that makes for wise choice, and lead us to continual involvement in the affairs of state as those called to be the salt of the earth and the leaven of society, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Hymn: “Where Cross the Crowded Ways of Life”

The Benediction

—Prepared by Rev. Gayraud S. Wilmore, Jr.

About Books

Christian Social Ethics, Exerting Christian Influence, by Albert Terrill Rasmussen. Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956. 318 pp. \$4.00.

Politics for Christians, by William Muehl. Association Press, 1956. 180 pp. \$3.00.

Here are two useful books which deserve places in the "working libraries" of every minister and lay church leader interested in Christian social action.

Christian Social Ethics: Exerting Christian Influence was written by Dr. Albert T. Rasmussen of Colgate Rochester Divinity School. It is a study of the problem of what the Christian response should be toward the enormous pressures and intimidations of the world. The chapter titles suggest the nature of the book and the scope of its contents: (1) What Is Christian Influence?, (2) The Sea of Influence Around Us?, (3) Our Oppressive Moral Climate, (4) The Responsibility That We Profess, (5) Weakness of the Churches' Influence, (6) Relating Faith to Social Action, (7) Steps in Building a Church of Influence, (8) Exerting Influence in the Local Community, (9) Exerting Influence Through Reconciliation, (10) Exerting Christian Influence Through Vocation, (11) Exerting Christian Influence in Politics.

This book is not a theoretical discussion of Christian ethics, but rather a practical outline of how

the Church can be influential. It goes farther than any book we know in suggesting what churches and churchmen can actually do in affecting our culture. Even so, the discerning reader will be reminded that there is much to be discovered about the corporate witness of the Church in society. The Church should help every Christian to see his duty and to act in a private capacity and jointly with other Christians. But beyond this, and perhaps much more important, is the witness and work of the Christian community in its togetherness.

The second book, *Politics for Christians*, by William Muehl, is a publication of Haddam House, an editorial venture in the field of religious literature growing out of the common concerns of the Hazen Foundation, the Y.M.C.A., and the Y.W.C.A. Mr. Muehl is a lawyer, a politician, and an associate professor in Yale University Divinity School. Here too the table of contents suggests the nature and the scope of the book: (1) Does Religion Mix with Politics?, (2) Social Sources of Political Irresponsibility, (3) The Politics of Moralistic Individualism, (4) Christian Insight and Democratic Process, (5) The Structure of Political Parties, (6) Sources of Political Power, (7) Joining a Party, (8) Independent Politics, (9) Some Current Local Issues, (10) Church and State.

This down-to-earth manual of political action shows the clergyman that he can take a political stand without contaminating the pulpit, the layman that he can be active politically without compromising his conscience, and the professional politician that he can apply Christian ethics without diluting his political realism.

Mr. Muehl realistically outlines the fundamental steps for getting into politics on the community level. It is suggested that a person can make his Christianity politically relevant only when he joins a political party and gets involved, and this begins in his own precinct.

Mr. Muehl insists that we cannot keep religion and politics separate. This is not a live option. The only choice is whether to relate real religion to the social scene in a critical and redemptive way, or to refuse to do so and see a pseudo religion appear to give authority without judgment to the demands of the state.



Citizen's Guide to Desegregation, A Story of Social and Legal Change in America, by Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg. The Beacon Press, 1956. 185 pp. with index. \$1.45.

Racial Desegregation and Integration, edited by Ira De A. Reid. *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1956. 201 pp. \$2.00.

Love of This Land, Progress of the Negro in the United States, edited by James H. Robinson. The Christian Education Press, 1956. 76 pp. \$1.00.

October, 1956

These are three useful handbooks on current problems of race relations in the United States.

The first one is by two staff members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Herbert Hill is Labor Secretary for the organization while Jack Greenberg is an Assistant Counsel who argued the Delaware school segregation case before the Supreme Court.

The first five chapters, about one third of the book, are a competent and important historical background to the Supreme Court decisions of 1954. Then follows a factual, well-documented review of the cases which resulted in the Supreme Court decisions. The last four chapters analyze the decisions, describe and interpret the important reactions to what the Supreme Court said about desegregating public schools, suggest what citizens can do, and make some guesses about the future.

The second "handbook" deserving special attention is the March, 1956, issue of *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science* which deals in its entirety with racial desegregation.

The sixteen essays are grouped under four headings—The Background, Desegregation, Case Studies in Integration, Principles for Planning. The essays are competent, relevant, and readable. The authors are those persons who appear to be in position "to know most" about the subjects with which they deal.

This issue of *The Annals* maintains the high standard for which the bimonthly publication is noted. It represents "a contribution to the understanding of human rights and human relations within the contexts

of stateways and folkways."

The third pamphlet, edited by James Robinson, of the Church of the Master (Presbyterian), in New York City, is a series of eight essays on "the progress of the Negro in the United States." Dr. Robinson has written a useful introduction and conclusion. The authors of the eight essays include such outstanding leaders in the field of human relations as J. Oscar Lee, of the National Council of Churches; Robert L. Carter, of the NAACP; Hugh M. Smythe, of Brooklyn College; Julius A. Thomas, of the National Urban League; and William R. Hudgins, a well-known New York realtor.

The pamphlet is prepared so as to be especially useful in interpreting American race relations, particularly the better aspects, to people in other lands who may be apprehensive or critical concerning the things they are likely to read most and know best about the treatment of the Negro in the United States.—C. E.

You Can't Be Human Alone: Handbook on Group Procedures for the Local Church, by Margaret E. Kuhn. National Council of Churches, 1956. 55 pp. 40 cents.

This 55-page booklet meets a need that has long troubled leaders in the local church: How can a group—session, circle, SEA committee, etc.—be led to do its job effectively? Based upon the up-to-date researches of social scientists like Knowles, Newcomb, and Asch, wedded to the practical experiences of the author in years of work in the field of human relations, it is also informed

by sound Christian theology and a deep sensitivity to persons.

It assumes several things that need not be proved but do need to be better understood by church leaders, lay and clergy alike: that small groups are at the heart of the local church's vitality (or lack of it); that there is something distinctive (or ought to be) about a group of Christians working together; and that when the group is aware of itself as a Christian group, the Holy Spirit works with power through the natural forces that are set in motion.

The group's understanding of these forces is necessary to its effective and creative function. Its understanding of the nature of its leadership is also essential. The author makes it quite clear that there are many *kinds* of leaders in the typical group, each with a different role and function. Controversy is a thing not to be feared and avoided, lest the group and the whole church become but "an aggregate of contented cows" (p. 13). But the ability to make controversy creative rather than destructive is also necessary.

You Can't Be Human Alone is definitely not another "how to" book of *techniques*. But it does deal realistically with the use of such methods as role-playing, buzz sessions, brainstorms, and so forth, in the context of the specific part each one can play in the group process—not as clever gadgets of manipulation but as educational tools, each of which has its limited place in the dynamic of human interaction.

All in all, the leader of any church group, but especially the social action committee, will find Miss Kuhn's piece indispensable.—H. B. S.

Special Studies

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Therefore:

♦ **I shall conduct** my campaign in the best American tradition, discussing the issues as I see them, presenting my record and policies with sincerity and frankness, and criticizing without fear or favor the record and policies of my opponent and his party which merit such criticism.

♦ **I shall defend and uphold** the right of every qualified American voter to full and equal participation in the electoral process.

♦ **I shall condemn** the use of personal vilification, character defamation, whispering campaigns, libel, slander, or scurrilous attacks on any candidate or his personal or family life.

♦ **I shall condemn** the use of campaign material of any sort which misrepresents, distorts, or otherwise falsifies the facts regarding any candidate, as well as the use of malicious or unfounded accusations against any candidate which aim at creating or exploiting doubts, without justification, as to his loyalty and patriotism.

♦ **I shall condemn** any appeal to prejudice based on race, creed, or national origin.

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♦ **I shall immediately and publicly repudiate** the support of any individual or group which resorts, on behalf of my candidacy, to the methods and tactics which I condemn.

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Signature

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